

# Big Drive Is Launched for Debs Memorial Radio Station

Labor Men, Liberals, Socialists  
Throughout Nation Accept  
Places on Committee

NEW YORK—The Debs speech memorial to Eugene V. Debs, renowned leader of American labor and Socialism, a high-powered radio station will be erected. A nation-wide drive for funds will begin immediately. These important announcements have been made here by the Debs Radio Memorial Fund.

The station, to be known as station WDEBS, will be devoted to the ideals of free speech which guided Debs all his life. The trustees of the fund plan to make it a voice for organized labor in time of strike as well as during industrial peace. Station WDEBS will also be open to the liberals, progressives and Socialists as a forum for discussion of the problems of the day.

The trustees, chosen from among supporters of the memorial in the 48 states, are representatives of the labor, Socialist and liberal movements. With Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, as chairman, and Morris Hillquit, National Committeeman of the Socialist Party, as Treasurer, the other members of the board of trustees are:

James H. Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.; John Haynes Holmes, New York City; Albert F. Coyle, Cleveland, Ohio; A. M. Todd, Kalamazoo, Mich.; John Whitlock, Chicago, Ill.; B. C. Vladeck, New York City; Theodore Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.; Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee, Wis.; Harriet Stanton Blatch, New York City; Robert Morris Lomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, as chairman, and Morris Hillquit, National Committeeman of the Socialist Party, as Treasurer, the other members of the board of trustees are:

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## New Bank Law Lays Foundation For World Trust

Enables Federal Banks to Control Foreign Investments and Coerce People Against Progress

WASHINGTON—Concealed in the rechartering of the federal reserve banks, which is the vital point in the McFadden banking bill driven to passage under the cloture rule, is the international bankers' plan for domination of world government as well as world business.

This was the warning given the senate by Sen. Nye of North Dakota. He pointed out that the bill permits the federal reserve banks to deal in foreign investment securities, and said this means that the big banking combine is to "valorize every bank-rupt government in Europe" by manipulation of the securities to coerce the people against political and social progress.

Nye recited the promises made when the Federal Reserve Act was first proposed—how the people were to be protected against exploitation; how the government was to dominate the money and credit system; how flexibility of the supply of money and credit was to be safeguarded.

Not only were the common people betrayed, the nonpartisan League senator argued, but the small bankers throughout the country have suffered by the domination of the super-bankers entrenched in the federal reserve. Worse still, the industries are all "feudal serfs of this monopoly of monopolies, the power which controls the lifeblood of industry and trade."

Foundations have already been laid for an international federal reserve system, Nye stated. The British have lately established in India a duplicate of the American scheme, and the international bankers are reaching out from New York and London to gather into this super-state of money the control of all countries in which international finance can get a hold. "Already," he said, "this super-finance has more than half enslaved the world."

## British Violate Washington and League Treaties

WASHINGTON—In placing its military forces outside of the international settlement from one to two miles on Chinese territory, the British government has violated the Washington pact guaranteeing the integrity of China and the League of Nations' protocol, article 10, thus making itself a violator of international law and world peace.

The United States administration, next to the British administration, has concentrated the largest force of troops and battleships in Chinese waters at any time in the war. When the British troops numbered 5,000, the American forces numbered 2,300 while Mussolini's army trailed behind with 1,000 and the French and Japanese trailed still behind these.

If the United States administration supports the present motion of Great Britain as the London papers boasted it would a few weeks ago, this country will become the violator of a pact of which it was the chief promoter and signer; and these two imperialist powers will have no shadow of justification if war results from their actions.

The Washington pact guaranteeing the integrity of China was signed in February, 1922, by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Holland, and Portugal and by the Chinese.

## Text of Treaty with China

Article I of that treaty read: "The contracting powers, other than China agree—

"(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

"(2) To provide the fullest and most unobstructed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

"(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equality of opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

"(4) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states."

China Tells League at Geneva

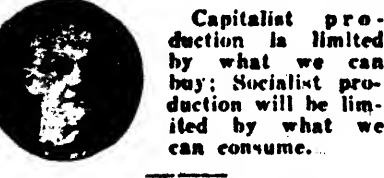
The British have already torn up this treaty by landing troops in Shanghai—thereby violating their pledge to respect the sovereignty of China at that port. Pres. Coolidge appears on the way to follow their example. Foreseeing this, the Chinese delegation at Geneva has protested to the league of nations against the British action. It mentions both the Washington treaty and Art. 10 of the League protocol.

That article requires that when one nation brings armed forces into the territory of another, it must do so with the consent of the latter, and other league nations shall be at war with the invader. In other words, all league nations are now bound to be at war with Great Britain.

What China is showing at Geneva is that the league pledges are as hypocritical and worthless as are the treaty pledges of the United States or Britain, when the big empires want to overthrow a revolutionary movement of "backward" cheap-labor peoples.

## From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)



Proletarian Pointers

Capitalist production is limited by what we can buy; Socialist production will be limited by what we can consume.

A man may be in rags and yet if his soul is filled with art treasures he is rich beyond the dreams of avarice.

A fine bit of advice it was that Whittier gave to the young man when he said: "Expose in thy youth some righteous and unpopular cause."

John Ruskin was at high watermark when he said: "It is only by labor that thought can be made healthy, and only by thought that labor be made happy."

To serve a righteous cause is a duty of joy; to serve an unrighteous one is a barter of the soul, the penalty of which is vain regrets and moral death.

In the capitalist system the proletariat does everything; the plutocrat has everything. The plutocrat does nothing; the proletariat has nothing. A beautiful system—for the plutocrat, and why should he not oppose Socialism?

One of the great mistakes the ruling class has always made is to suppose that there is permanent safety and security in the ignorance of the masses. As a matter of fact, nothing is more dangerous than ignorance. Many democratic necks have gone to the block on account of it, and others may yet have to follow before man is wise enough to realize the menace of ignorance.

"Let him who is greatest among you be the servant of all the rest." Thus spoke the prophet of Nazareth many centuries ago, and it is not strange that he had not where to lay his head. Those recognized as the "greatest" among his professed followers are in capitalist competitive society the rulers and the rulers of all the rest. Only in Socialist cooperative society will the greatest be the servants of society and so exalt themselves.

Inspiration: The class conscious fire that flashes from a pair of proletarian eyes.

When the spirit of revolution has fired the soul, the new light streams from the eye to light a beacon athwart the pathway of progress.

The brightest light-house on the reef coast of capitalism is that which blazes from a class-conscious eye mounted on a pair of overalls.

# Hillquit Warns International of U.S.-Mexican War Danger

## British-American Collusion Against Nicaragua Is Seen

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON—Collusion between the governments of the United States and Great Britain in robbing Nicaragua of her independence and her last chance for freedom is seen by Dr. T. S. Vaca, agent in Washington for the Sacaca Liberal government of that republic, in the sending of a British warship to Corinto.

Just after President Coolidge had explained to the press, through his mythical spokesman, that he saw nothing improper in the British move, Dr. Vaca issued a statement.

"His British Majesty's government," it is reported, will send a warship to Nicaragua, and there are hardly half a dozen English subjects on the west coast of Nicaragua, and no interests of that nationality require protection. In the past so far as I can remember the sending of a war vessel to the neighborhood of troubled regions has been more or less a routine measure without any special significance. The great prominence and advertisement being given by Washington to this affair arouses suspicions that the whole affair has been staged for propaganda; that is, to help the American public believe that conditions in Nicaragua justify the late activities of Latimer's forces against the Constitutional armies.

"It is ridiculous and too absurd to believe that England would make the least move in the Caribbean region without previous and full accord with the United States, especially in Nicaragua where intervention has grown far beyond its stated aims."

"The cooperation of the British charge d'affaires was obtained from the beginning to ask protection for his subjects of the American minister. In order to justify the landing of marines."

"This is the first time, though, that a European power is taken into active cooperation to help justify the policy of the United States against an American nation, and seems quite a departure from the ways of James Monroe. It is regrettable that the foreign diplomats at Managua hastened to recognize a regime that so publicly has confessed from the beginning its inability to protect their system."

This last shot is aimed at Adolfo Diaz's appeals for American armed forces to maintain him in power, recognized last November and repeated in mid-February when he was in danger of complete collapse and was ready to sign a treaty for a 100-year surrender to the United States of some of his own power in Nicaragua. Diaz's own power in Nicaragua has published the same terms.

President Coolidge holds that any European power may land forces in Latin America to "protect lives and property of their nationals," so long as these forces do not claim the right to occupy territory pending the payment of debts owed to their nationals. Under the Coolidge doctrine, British and Italian soldiers could join the Americans in handling machine guns on Nicaraguan trains, under the same pretense.

Senators Borah and Wheeler have declared the British move to be collusion with Kellogg in stopping American protests against abrogation of Nicaragua into the American colonial system.

## Coal Operators Spurn Lewis Plan of Cooperation

Greedy Owners Prefer to Force Strike, Cut Wages and Crush Union

MIAMI, Fla.—Although confronted with a plan offered by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, under which the workers would form a combination with their employers to maintain profits and wages, the coal operators of the unionized central competitive soft coal fields have maintained a determined front to reduce wages. As a result of this stand the conference here between the miners and operators has ended in failure to reach a new wage agreement which expires on March 31.

Adjustment since die followed acceptance of the report of a subcommittee which could not reconcile diverse demands by the wage scale committee of miners and operators.

Unless negotiations are resumed elsewhere and an agreement reached before April 1, union miners automatically will cease labor in the central bituminous field.

The resolution offered by Lewis would have put the conference on record as recognizing that wage reductions will not bring commercial security to the bituminous industry. It would have made permanent the conference of operators and miners to work for the following objects:

"A.—To strive for conditions in the industry which will give a proper return to capital invested there and will protect and advance the living standards of those employed in the industry."

"B.—To take such steps as may be necessary to lessen the prodigious number of fatalities in the industry."

"C.—To promote a sales policy which will destroy the present practice of selling coal below actual cost of production."

"D.—To work for a scientific readjustment of coal freight rates and the elimination of the many discriminatory rates now maintained by the interstate commerce commission for the harassment of the unionized industry."

"E.—To protect the industry by opposing adverse legislation and to encourage the enactment of legislation of value to the industry and helpful in the saving of human life."

"F.—To employ such legal counsel, experts, engineers and advisers as may be required for the competent execution of this program, the expense to be borne equally by the operators of the central competitive field and the United Mine Workers of America."

The operators were too eager to join the scramble for immediate profit to give this proposal consideration. They want increased per capita productivity, union cooperation along the lines indicated, but they insisted on a wage cut besides.

## Fears Whole Hemisphere May Be Plunged in Disaster Like World War

Fear that the Mexican situation may involve the whole hemisphere in a war "as devastating and disastrous as the one from which Europe has not yet recovered" was expressed in a cablegram sent today by Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the Socialist Party, to the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor International meeting in Paris.

Unable to attend the Paris meeting as the delegate from the American Socialist Party, Mr. Hillquit cabled the following brief report on the Mexican situation:

"The conflict is between Mexico under a progressive labor government striving to free its land and natural wealth from domination of foreign absentee ownership and to redeem the country for the people and United States capitalism determined to keep Mexican land and oil fields, and to exploit and pauperize the Mexican people. American capitalism is bent on fomenting a revolution in Mexico which will place in power its servile tools or causing a war and shedding American blood for Mexican oil. Nicaragua is an incident and pretext in the nature of an American Serbia."

"The Western hemisphere may be engulfed in a war as devastating and disastrous as the one from which Europe has not yet recovered unless prevented by the emphatic opposition of all progressive American forces supported by the solid working and protest of the whole world of Socialist labor and peace."

## Socialists of Wisconsin Hit Legion Fund

MADISON—On a bill appropriating \$1,000 to pay for an American legion encampment, the eight Socialists in the lower house cast the only votes in objection to the appropriation.

Assemblyman William Coleman explained the Socialist stand by saying that no Socialist could conscientiously vote for an appropriation for the American legion in view of the stand of the legion in general against the American form of government and in favor of the principles of Mussolini.

Coleman went on further that the American legion on hundreds of occasions has used violent methods to curtail free speech and the progress of political groups.

## Was Boulder Dam Fight Betrayed by Coolidge?

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Coolidge's one case of support of a public ownership measure has apparently ended in the President's betrayal of the fight at the critical moment.

The Boulder Canyon project is primarily a flood-control project and is therefore, ostensibly a government ownership project. The war department has repeatedly shown why flood control projects and navigation projects should be controlled by the government. It is customary in all countries outside of the United States to have the government build and control flood control projects.

This probably accounts for the fact that President Coolidge at the beginning favored the government erection and ownership of the great projected Boulder dam. But the fact that the Boulder Canyon fight rapidly changed from primarily a fight for flood control to primarily a fight over the production because the possibility of the governmental production of 1,000,000 horsepower of energy alarmed the super power trust and drew into desperate opposition the greatest aggregation of capitalist interests the country has seen for some time, apparently caused Coolidge to switch against the public interests in this fight.

After a filibuster promoted by the Big Business interests which lasted eight days and consisted in an attempt of the minority in the Senate to block Boulder Dam legislation until the end of the present short session, Senator Johnson of California, who led the fight for government ownership, attempted to get a roll call to close debate and vote on the bill. In connection with this effort he went to the White House and asked President Coolidge to make good on his claim that he favored the measure.

Hoover had already betrayed it, while Mellon, Work and Jardine of the cabinet were fighting it, because the bill would permit the government to develop 1,000,000 horsepower of electric current, to be sold at low rates in competition with the power trust.

Coolidge told Johnson he would "see what he could do." Johnson asked him to telephone Curtis, the Republican floor leader, to line up his forces for the adoption of the cloture rule. Coolidge agreed. When the roll was called Curtis and the administration forces were lined up against cloture. It was beaten, 32 to 69. That meant the death of the bill, with its government ownership possibilities.

Immediately after the defeat of the measure, Representative Swing, joint author of the measure, declared that the fight would go on in future sessions of congress.

The American Appeal regards the Boulder Dam project as the greatest single opportunity today to deal a fatal wound to the capitalist system in the United States and demonstrate the benefits of socialization. THE FIGHT MUST GO ON!

The Appeal is ready to make a major use of this project as soon as circumstances permit. IF THE APPEAL SUPPORTERS WILL DO THEIR UTMOST TO GIVE EFFECTIVE CIRCULATION TO THEIR PAPER.

As a band of earnest and hard working propagandists we can help tremendously in this fight so essential to the welfare of the people of this country.

WE WANT THE READERS OF THE APPEAL TO WRITE US AND TELL US HOW MUCH THEY WILL HELP.

## Mexico Welcomes American Probe

MEXICO CITY—The United States senate investigating committee proposed by Senator Borah would be welcomed here by the government. Foreign Minister Aaron Saenz said today. Mexico is eager to afford an opportunity for a full understanding on the international situation.

"The opinion of this department is that there would be no objections to an investigation made in Mexico by any serious and influential persons on exclusively foreign Mexican problems and, consequently, if the committee from the United States senate should come here it would be well received officially and would be aided," Senator Saenz said.

## Socialist International Calls Workers to Stop New War

Revolution in China. Reactionary forces wish to use the Chinese Revolution as a pretext for breaking off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. The civil war in China threatens to bring forth events which may imperil the peace of the world.

Armies and Navies are not needed for the protection of the lives or the commerce of foreigners in China. Foreigners will be safe as soon as foreign oppression ceases to arouse the hatred of the Chinese people.

Therefore, Workers and Socialists of all countries, unite your voices to the voice of the British Labor Movement, which is fighting to establish China amongst the self-governing nations of the world.

Support to the utmost of your power the national and democratic movement of emancipation of the Chinese working-class, which is the essential basis for the liberation of the Chinese masses.

Demand in every country: The recall of the foreign troops and warships!

## U. S. Advised Oil Men To Break Mexican Law

WASHINGTON—Flouting of the Mexican oil laws by American companies in the past has been instigated by the U. S. Government, it was recalled here today by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Jose Miguel Bejarano of the Mexican Chamber of Commerce of the U. S.

Mr. Bejarano read to the committee from the minutes of Congress, quoting in particular statements by Edward Doheny and former Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall, he said:

"American capital in the oil industry in Mexico, under instructions of the State Department, not only refuses to submit to Mexican legislation, but gives material support to rebels in arms against the Mexican Government. American investors in the Mexican oil industry constitute a group more liable than any other to exert pressure upon the State Department and on the other hand, be the instrument of the State Department in exerting pressure against the Mexican Government. Their power and organization enable them to stand as a distinctive unit and their actions may easily be traced."

"The Congressional Record of April 12, 1921, contains a letter written by Albert B. Fall, at one time Secretary of the Interior, dated the 21st of March, 1921, in which he says: 'The British Agula Oil Company, owned as a matter of fact, by Great Britain herself, is yielding to such decrees and obtaining advantage of American companies who are faithfully abiding by the advice and instructions of the American Government in the matter.'"

"Senator E. F. Ladd, of North Dakota, in a speech before the Senate, commenting upon the above letter, stated that the advice and instructions of the American Government were presumably not to obey the laws, and that the letter plainly reveals a clear understanding between the oil companies in Mexico and the United States Department of State to disobey the laws of Mexico, in order that Mexico may be forced to revoke domestic legislation and be compelled to sign a treaty distasteful to its legally elected officials."

"Senator Ladd further said: 'There was exposed in the press of the United States authentic evidence whereby it appeared Thomas F. Lee, secretary of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, an association financed largely by the oil interests and whose evident purpose is to force American intervention in Mexico, sought to finance General Pablo Gonzales in a revolutionary attempt to overthrow the Obregon government. Letters and telegrams which have never been denied show that a group of American financiers offered to advance arms and money in this revolutionary effort.'"

"Perhaps the most amazing charge against the State Department is the one made by Mr. Doheny when answering Senator Borah during the investigation of Mexican affairs (U. S. Congress 66-2; Sen. Doc. v-1, p. 283)."

"Venustiano Carranza was president of Mexico, General Manuel Pelaez was in arms against Carranza, controlling the Tampico oil region. 'The Chamber of Deputies of the State Department were aware of the fact that you have been making payments to Pelaez.'"

"Mr. Doheny, 'Yes; not only aware of it, but so far as they could, without giving it in writing, they have approved it.'"

(Cont. on page 3)

## To Nationalize Ships in Italy

Rome, Italy, Feb. 25.—The consolidation of all Italian steamship companies into a single gigantic mercantile marine organization was forecast here today.

According to this information, the government is seriously considering the fusion of the Lloyd Triestino, the Lloyd Sabaudia, the Puglia and other fleets of Italian steamers; into a government merchant marine. Such preparations were never attempted in any other country.

When Mussolini first seized power he boasted that he would smash everything in Italy of a socialist nature and he proposed as first step, the handing over to private corporations of the publicly-owned railroads, telegraph and telephone systems.

He now says that shipping must be nationalized in Italy to meet German competition.

The plutocrats must know their weakness; they would not feel it "useful to suppress by force a hearing for the other side."

Another thing for the whoop-it-up optimists to consider is that when business decreases the debts of the country are in effect increased.

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(Cont. on page 3)



# As A Free Speech Memorial to EUGENE V. DEBS

**This Space Was Donated by the American Appeal**

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**Arizona**  
The Socialist Local organization at Yuma is quite active, and we expect the movement to develop throughout that state in the near future.

Get them from National Hdqrs., 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill., 50c for single copies. \$5 per dozen. 40c each in lots of 100 or more.

There are enough out of employment now to make it easy to lower wages. The prospect of lower prices on necessities of life is by no means as certain as lower wages are.



## NEWS AND VIEWS

## Do Coolidge and Kellogg Fear Facts?

It is within the week of a change to fill every true American with amazement and extreme apprehension.

The face of a series of palpably outrageous acts of intervention and virtual occupation of Nicaragua for the purpose of forcing upon its government the moment of their triumph over the opposition of Mr. Borah, chairman of the foreign relations committee, has demanded an investigation of the whole Nicaraguan and Mexican situation.

The committee sent into those countries to gather the facts first hand, Mr. Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg not only have the opportunity to offer most strenuous objections to this eminently fair and honest proposal, but by the use of their influence were able in a few days to turn an original majority favoring Mr. Borah's proposal into a majority favoring an investigation of the whole Nicaraguan and Mexican situation.

In view of the fact that it is the administration's foreign policy that is on trial, this is an amazing proposition. It is the entire proposed investigation on the contrary assumptions that the administration's acts need investigating, but the administration's facts are infallible. Such an "investigation" would be exactly like the trial of a prisoner in which no evidence was admitted except such evidence as the prisoner chose to offer.

The very purpose of the proposed investigation is to ascertain if the facts offered by the administration square with other facts related to the situation. Undoubtedly Borah's probe would cover fully both sides.

Not only have the President and Secretary of State in public statements interposed their serious objections to a committee going to Mexico and Nicaragua and used their influence to swing the majority of the foreign relations committee against this proposal, but undoubtedly from the same high sources has emanated the petty attack on Borah for his alleged wrong doing in writing President Calles for information regarding the oil situation.

This attack is so clearly for the purpose of discrediting Borah, weakening his position, and preventing a United States committee from hearing the Nicaraguan and Mexican side of the controversy, that instead of helping the administration heads, it will redound against them with the impact of a boomerang and raise serious doubts among millions of citizens that they would be able to come clear out of such an investigation.

## What Price

## Imperialism?

In his message to the Labor and Socialist International printed in this issue of the American Appeal, Morris Hillquit says that there is grave danger of war that will involve the whole Western Hemisphere.

This remark is fully warranted by facts growing out of the present Nicaraguan and Mexican situation and by a long series of acts of intrigue and imperialistic aggression on the part of the United States government in Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, San Domingo, and the Philippines, which have filled all Latin America with extreme fear and distrust of the United States.

For almost a generation while the United States was becoming the creditor nation and financial boss of the earth and most powerful of the imperialist nations, we were paying the inevitable price in an increasing crop of fear and hate among the weaker Spanish American nations.

The Appeal has wanted to, but has been unable from lack of space, to reflect the growing fear and hostility in the Central and South American press. In the opinions, thus expressed, we have become a dangerous imperialistic and militaristic power.

Measures of Spanish American defense, including a boycott on American goods and capital have been proposed.

Adding most inflammable material to these growing fires has come within the past few weeks as a culmination United States intervention in Nicaragua. This act is rapidly destroying any confidence that might have remained in Latin America in United States sense of justice and unselfishness.

The increasing hostility of the Latin American for us was strikingly illustrated last week when two "good will" American aviators were killed in Buenos Aires. Beneath the great funeral demonstration, says an American correspondent, this new Latin hostility and distrust was plainly visible. They are learning to hate us even in glory and in death.

Will this growing hostility and fear of American imperialism stand the strain of intervention in Mexico following the outrage just committed against the Nicaraguan people?

If active war does not follow, potential war in the form of a boycott of American trade or a turning from it toward Europe is practically sure to follow. The latter in the long run would be as disastrous as the former, and such a condition would always hold the possibility of war.

United States financial dominance of the globe and imperialism is also exacting its price in Europe, where economic alliances against the United States, new tariff barriers, and new trusts aimed at the United States are the order of the day.

Already these preliminary movements are beginning to effect American exports. Last year there was an ominous falling off of exports from the United States in comparison with imports. Our export balance, taking care of the enormous American surplus, is the one thing upon which the capitalist prosperity of the last few years has been based.

THE COMPETITION AND HOSTILITY OF THE REST OF THE WORLD REMOVE THAT AND WE WOULD HAVE ON OUR HANDS THE MOST STUPIDOUS STAGNATION OF INDUSTRY AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN OUR HISTORY. Such a condition would be as destructive as war and might lead to war.

Civilized nations are becoming increasingly interdependent. Humanity as a whole is developing world-wide unity, despite the treason of nations. No nation can violate this growing interdependence and unity without paying a terrible price. Imperialism and militarism are the most costly of all modern luxuries and in the end will wreck any nation.

Steps already have been taken to harness the waters of the Lerma River, in the northeast corner of the State of Michoacan, about twelve miles from El Oro, a famous mining company.

This project will cost \$7,500,000 and will supply Mexico City with power and irrigation water. It will also create irrigation works covering a large farming territory.

Under capitalism prosperity depends on production while surplus are being absorbed by the low-paid population. The reason we are having increased unemployment now is because the recent unusual activity of industry created a surplus of goods which must now be sold before many owners can operate profitably.

Under capitalism prosperity destroys prosperity, wealth produces poverty, employment causes unemployment, men and women starve because they produce too much. It is a great system!

The growth of America's nonproductive classes at the expense of the producers is a feature of the last 15 years, according to an occupational survey of the country in 1925, 1920 and 1910 by the national industrial conference board. The report indicates that an increasing proportion of the population is either idle or engaged in competitive distribution, with a corresponding decrease in the proportion in agriculture, mining, manufacturing and transportation.

While the entire population of the country increased from 91,972,266 in 1910 to 115,380,000 in 1925, a gain of 25.1 percent, the number in agriculture, mining, manufacturing and transportation increased only a little more than 3 percent, from 26,890,402 in 1920 to 27,750,000 in 1925. In the same period the number in non-industrial occupations increased from 11,276,934 to 15,160,000, more than 34 percent.

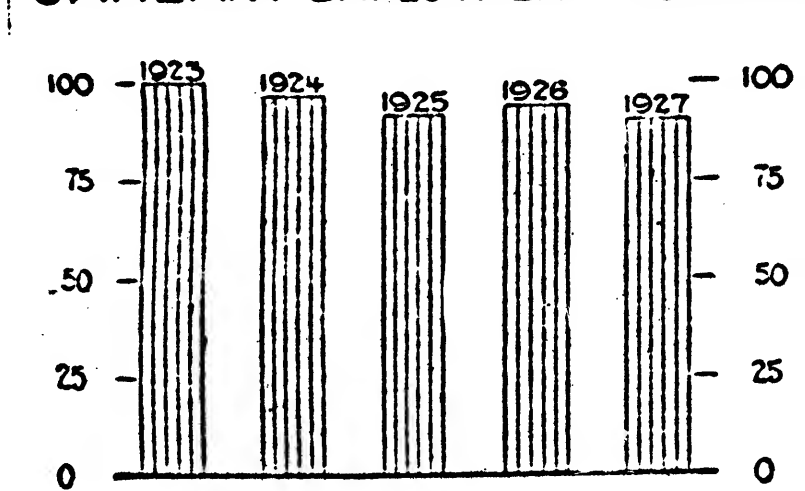
The decline in the number engaged in producing agricultural raw materials, from 12,659,082 in 1910 to 10,500,000 in 1925, has been given considerable publicity. But less has been said about the tremendous increase in the number engaged in trade and in clerical pursuits. The gain of 57.1 percent in these two groups, raising such nonproductive workers from 5,351,723 to 8,420,000, exceeds by more than 1,000,000 to decrease in number of farmers and other agriculturists.

The number of clerical workers alone rose from 1,787,053 in 1910 to 3,200,000 in 1925, an increase of 120 percent.

Less than a quarter of the population today engaged directly in the production of goods, including transportation. The percentage so engaged, including manufacturing, transportation, mining and agriculture, has fallen from 29.3 percent in 1910 to 24 percent in 1925. If we could segregate from this producer group the number engaged in production of non-essentials, the small percentage of the population carrying the remainder on their backs would appear even more striking.

## Most Unemployment in Five Year Period Hits Coolidge's Prosperity

## JANUARY EMPLOYMENT VOLUME



Calvin Coolidge, prosperity expert, reported at work each month is regarded as representative of industry as a whole throughout the United States.

Unemployment is unavoidable under the present wage and profits system, because, in order to obtain profits out of the workers, the owners have to pay them less than the value of what they produce. This reduces the purchasing power of the large majority of the people and creates a capitalist surplus that must be sold before industry can run at full capacity.

This means periodic curtailments of production while surplus are being absorbed by the low-paid population. The reason we are having increased unemployment now is because the recent unusual activity of industry created a surplus of goods which must now be sold before many owners can operate profitably.

Under capitalism prosperity destroys prosperity, wealth produces poverty, employment causes unemployment, men and women starve because they produce too much. It is a great system!

The above map prepared by the United States Department of Labor shows that the volume of industrial employment in January was the lowest in five years. Ninety-one persons were at work during January, 1927, in mills and factories for each 100 who were employed in January, 1923, compared with ninety-seven persons in 1924, with ninety-two persons in 1925 and with ninety-four persons in 1926.

These data are based on reports received by the United States department of labor. The department each month receives direct from mills and factories covering fifty-two industries the payroll totals showing the actual number at work. The report covers more than 2,000,000 workers and the fluctuation of the number which is

## Alarming Increase Shown In Class of Nonproducers

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## Young People's Department

National Office  
YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOC. LEADER  
30 Townsend St., Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Archie J. Parker, Nat. Director.

## Boston

The Young People's Socialist League has arranged an Essay contest so as to increase the educational activities of the ages of 16 and 20 can become eligible by joining the Y.P.S.L. either through the Branch in his district or through the District office at 21 Essex St. Boston.

Essays must be from 1000 to 5000 words in length on some subject connected with the Socialist or Labor Movement. The contest will close on May 15th. \$50 worth of prizes have been offered, and the first five among the contestants will be in on the money.

The members of the Boston Central Branch have been aroused by the failure to do proper work in advertising. Either Friedman's meetings and have arranged four meetings for every Thursday in March at our Headquarters, 21 Essex Street, Boston at 8 o'clock.

March 3, Paul Jones speaks on "American Imperialism."

March 10th, Leo M. Harkins speaks on "Some Trade Union Problems and Remedies."

March 17th, Alfred Baker Lewis speaks on "Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance."

March 24th, McAlister Coleman speaks on "Nationalization of the Coal Mines."

Our Speakers Training Bureau is meeting weekly every Sunday at 5 p.m., 21 Essex St. The subjects for the following Sundays include: "Trade and Public Opinion," "Ethics of Radicalism and Conservatism," and "Getting rich by harming others."

Meetings are open to outsiders as well as members of the class.

## Chicago

Comrade William Henry, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, was the speaker at the meeting of the Y.P.S.L. Friday, February twenty-fifth. The lecture was followed by a very lively discussion.

At the next meeting, March fourth, Mr. Joe Werlin will speak on the "Economic Conditions in Russia." Mr. Werlin has specialized in Russian history and will give us as a background some of the history of modern Russia.

Intensive efforts to obtain larger quarters are being made. Our last meeting overflowed our present headquarters and even a standing room was left for the late comers.

Meeting are held at Douglas Park Auditorium, Kedzie and Ogden Sts.

The result of the vote of the branches in the Province of Luxembourg was not yet known when the report was given out on Feb. 3, but, as the total population of that province is only about 225,000, the outcome of the referendum will not be changed.

"Americans Swine," Says Queen Marie of Recent Hosts

Queen Marie is to get her coveted money for which she sold digging in America recently from German bankers, according to a recent news dispatch. They are to make the Roumanian government a loan of \$100,000,000.

Consequently, she has been expressing her real opinion of American snobs and bootlickers of European royalty recently.

The World Wide News Service carried an article by a lady attendant of the queen at Bucharest in which Marie is quoted as saying of Americans: "My son was right when he said that they were a flock of swine."

"Her majesty bitterly complained," writes her attendant, "against the treatment afforded to her in Chicago. She was very angry at the police because they did not make any attempt to suppress hostile demonstrations against her."

As a matter of fact, the Chicago police did stop the hostile communist demonstration, arresting members of the parade and clubbing at least one. But this method of breaking up street demonstrations was evidently not in every way up to the latest royal methods in Roumania.

The only disarmament that will count for lasting peace is the stripping of private interests of their control of the machine and money.

They used to tell you that Socialism would take your property away. Well, your property is all mortgaged now, and it was not Socialism that did it.

U. S. Advised Oil Men to Break Law

(Cont. from page 1)

"The forgers of a Lieutenant of General Pershe assassinated President Carranza."

"After the promulgation of the Constitution of 1917 the oil producers began the payment of regular monthly sums to Palafox, who has an organized force of some numbers and has held possession of large portions of the country for the last two years. I think his force was organized at the promulgation of the Constitution in 1917, and in opposition to that Constitution" (Sen. Doc. p. 289-2507).

Belgian Socialists Stay in Government

By a vote of 372,000 against 165,000, with 42,000 abstentions, the file of the Belgian Labor Party has decided that, for the time being, Emile Vandervelde and his three fellow-Socialist cabinet members are to remain at their posts in the bourgeois government to safeguard the interests

of the workers until the work of stabilizing the currency and re-planting industry is definitely accomplished.

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## APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

## Socialists Explain Their Objections to Communism

## Article 1

## Bertrand Russell on Violent Revolt

For the last decade a wordy battle has been waged between the adherents of the Socialist point of view and those who called themselves Communists and Bolsheviks. Why have Socialists steadfastly failed to accept the position of militant communists?

Their refusal has been based on various groups. It is not that they fail to acknowledge the significance of the Russian revolution. "The Russian revolution," declared Morris Hillquit in his excellent little book, *From Marx to Lenin*, is undoubtedly the greatest event in the history of socialism. The fact of a workers' and peasants' republic in the largest country of Europe has already destroyed the superstitions and unreasoning belief that the capitalist organization of society is unalterable and eternal.

With one blow it has transformed the Socialist ideal from the abstract and speculative realms of Utopia to the solid ground of reality. The Russian revolution has suddenly ushered in a new era in the Socialist movement of the world—the era of direct efforts for the practical realization of the Socialist program.

A whole-hearted support of Soviet Russia by the advanced workers everywhere is dictated not only by their natural sentimental attachment for the Socialist republic, but also by their direct class interests.

While supporting the Soviet government in its fight against the capitalist world, Socialists have, nevertheless, taken sharp issue with the tactics of the communists, particularly when communists have insisted on applying to Western countries their theories which seemed to have worked in Russia, but which were entirely inapplicable to other lands. Let us glance at some of these theories as used by some of the foremost exponents of the Socialist movement.

Russell Doubts Victory Through Violence

In the first place, Socialists have constantly insisted that every attempt should be made in more democratic lands to bring about a victory of the working class through non-violent means. Bertrand Russell sees two broad objections to violent revolution in such a world as ours.

The first, he declares in his *Bolshvism in Theory and Practice* is that "once the principle of respecting minorities as expressed at the ballot-box is abandoned, there is no reason to suppose that victory will be secured by the particular class to which the majority belongs. There are many minorities besides Communists: religious minorities, racial minorities, linguistic minorities, capitalist minorities. Any one of these could adopt the method of obtaining power advocated by the Bolsheviks, and use it as well as just as likely to succeed, as they are. What restrains these minorities, more or less, at present, is respect for the law and the constitution. Bolsheviks tacitly assume that every other party will preserve this respect while they prepare to overthrow the present government. But their philosophy of violence becomes popular, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that they will be its beneficiaries.

They believe that Communism is for the good of the majority; they ought to believe that they can persuade the majority on this question, and to have the patience to wait about the task of winning by propaganda."

Violence Leads to Jungle

"The second argument of principle against the method of minority violence is that abundant of law, when it becomes widespread, lets loose the wild beast, and gives a free rein to the primitive lusts and egotisms which civilization in some degree curbs. The civilized nations have accepted democratic government as a method of settling internal disputes without violence. Democratic government may have all the fault attributed to it, but it has the one great merit that people are on the whole willing to accept it as a substitute for civil war in political disputes. Whoever acts to work to weaken its acceptance, whether in Ulster or in Moscow, is taking a fearful responsibility. Civilization is not so stable that it cannot be broken up; and a condition of lawless violence is not one out of which any good thing is likely to emerge."

Despair of Peaceful Methods

"The Bolshevik philosophy," Russell continues, "is promoted very largely by despair of more gradual methods. But this despair is a mark of impotence, and is by no means warranted by the fact. It is by no means impossible, in the near future, to secure self-government in British railways and mines by constitutional means. Self-government in industry would both afford many of the advantages of Communism and also make the transition far easier with a technical breakdown in production."

Violent Revolution Feasible only During National Disaster

There is a further defect in the methods advocated by the Third International. "The sort of revolution which is recommended is never practically feasible except in a time of national misfortune; in fact, defeat in war seems to be an indispensable condition. Consequently, by this method, Communism will only be in-

augurated where conditions of life are difficult, where demoralization and disorganization make success almost impossible, and where men are in a mood of despair very inimicable to industrial reconstruction. If Communism is to have a fair chance, it must be inaugurated in a prosperous country. But a prosperous country will not be readily moved by the arguments of hatred and universal upheaval which are employed by the Third International. It is necessary, in appealing to a prosperous country, to lay stress on hope rather than despair, and to show how the transition can be effected without a calamitous loss of prosperity. All this requires less violence and subsequence more patience and constructive propaganda, less appeal to the armed might of a determined minority."

Drama vs. Devoted Propaganda

Mr. Russell admits that a spectacular revolution does appeal to the dramatic instinct, but observes that the purpose of a serious revolution is not personal heroism, nor martyrdom, but the creation of a happier world. Those who have the happiness of the world at heart will shrink from attitudes and the facile hysteria of "no parley with the enemy." It is by slower and more showy methods that the new world must be built by industrial efforts after self-government, by proletarian training in technique and business administration, by careful study of the international situation, by a prolonged and devoted propaganda of ideas rather than of deeds, especially among the wage-earners of the United States.

Can Secret Propaganda Win Where Votes Fail?

Mr. Russell in his various writings also considers certain aspects of the Communists which, in his opinion, are without validity. Among these assumptions is that "capitalist propaganda can prevent the majority from becoming Communists, yet capitalist laws and police forces cannot prevent the Communists, who still are free to acquire a majority by the use of military power. It is thought that secret propaganda can undermine the army and navy, although it is admittedly impossible to get the majority to vote at elections for the program of the Bolsheviks."

At this view, declares the author, based on Russian experience where the army and navy had suffered defeat and had been brutally ill-used by incompetent Czarist authorities. The argument has no application to more efficient and successful states. Among the Germans, even in defeat, was the civilian population that began the revolution.

Assumption of Capitalist Ignorance

The Communists, furthermore, according to Russell, assume that the capitalists have not learned anything as a result of the Bolshevik revolution. However, Russell feels, they are wise of their guard and "will not suddenly permit a reconversion of armed force to pass into the hands of those who wish to overthrow them, able, according to the Bolshevik theory, they are still sufficiently regular to be supplied by a majority at the polls. It is a clear anomaly that in a democratic country it is more difficult for the proletariat to destroy the government by arms than to defeat it in a general election." Seeing the immense ad-

vanage of a government in dealing with rebels, it seems clear that rebellion could have little hope of success unless a very large majority supported it. Of course, if the army and navy were specially revolutionary, they might effect an unpopular revolution; but this situation, though something like it occurred in Russia, is hardly to be expected in the Western nations. This whole Bolshevik theory of revolution by a minority is one which just conceivably may have succeeded as a secret plot, but it becomes impossible as soon as it is openly avowed and advocated."

Assumptions on Corruption of Political Leaders

In the third place, Communists assume that parliamentary leaders at the time of a revolution can be bribed and turned into traitors to the working class, but that those leading a movement of revolutionary communism cannot. However, selling oneself to the capitalists is not the only possible form of treachery. It is also possible, having attained power, to use it for one's own ends, instead of for the people. This is what I believe is likely to happen in Russia: the establishment of a bureaucratic aristocracy, concentrating authority in its own hands, and creating a regime just as arbitrary and as much of a dictatorship as the old regime of the capitalists. Marxists never sufficiently recognize that love of power is quite as strong a motive and quite as great a source of injustice, as love of money; yet this must be obvious to any unbiased student of politics. It is also obvious that the method of violent revolution leading to a minority dictatorship is one peculiarly calculated to create habits of despotism which would survive the crisis by which they were generated."

What seems to me to emerge from these considerations," declared Russell, "is this: that in a democratic and politically educated country, armed revolution in favor of Communism would have no chance of succeeding unless it were supported by a larger majority than would be required for the election of a Communist government by constitutional methods. It is possible that, if such a government came into existence, and proceeded to carry out its program, it would be met by armed resistance on the part of capital, including a large proportion of the forces in the army and navy. But in subduing this resistance it would have the support of that great body of opinion which believes in legality and upholds the constitution. Moreover, having, by hypothesis, converted a majority of the nation, a Communist government could have the help from immense numbers of workers, and would not be forced, as the Bolsheviks are in Russia, to suspect treachery everywhere. Under these circumstances, I believe that the resistance of the capitalists could be quelled without much difficulty, and would receive little support from moderate people. Whereas, in a minority revolt of Communists against a capitalist government, all moderate opinion would be on the side of capitalism."

Off Socialism? Not then carried without bloodshed, it will be due to the unconstitutional action of the Right, not to the need of revolutionary violence on the part of the advocates of the proletariat. Whether such a state of opinion grows up or not depends mainly upon the stubbornness of the capitalist class, the possessing classes, and, conversely, upon the moderation or violence of those who desire fundamental economic change. The majority which Bolsheviks regard as unattainable is chiefly created by the ruthlessness of their own tactics."

—Harry W. Laidler.

Soc. International In Anti-War Call

(Cont. from page 1)

In the internal conflicts of the Central American Republics, Workers and Socialists of all countries raise their protest in common with all the socialist and progressive forces of the United States against American imperialism, which intends to purchase at the cost of rivers of blood its domination over the oil-fields. Demand in all countries a right of free self-determination for the Mexican people!

The Fascist Menace

But in Europe, too fresh dangers loom before us.

Italian fascism which has deprived the Italian working-class of all means of resistance to capitalist exploitation, which has dealt with the best men of Italian democracy either by driving them into exile or by letting them perish miserably as deserters, whose regime of terror exceeds by far all the horrors of pre-war Russian Czarism, is seeking to justify its tyranny at home by violent annexations abroad.

It has converted Albania into one of its colonies. It is endeavoring to unite Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria under its leadership against Yugoslavia. The last remaining feudal governments of Europe, those of the Albanian "Boys" of the Magyar nobles, and of the Roumanian "Boyers" are making themselves around Italian fascism, which itself is under the protection of the banks of London and New York. Jugo-Slavia is feverishly arming for defense. In the Balkans the situation of 1914 threatens to repeat itself!

Under the protection of the British conservative government and of Italian fascism, Hungarian reaction has overthrown all the democratic forces in the country, and has been allowed to defy insolently the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Trianon, and to disregard cynically international obligations, assumed in 1921, which block the road to the restoration of the Hapsburgs. It is now offering to Italian fascism the life-blood and possessions of the Hungarian peasants as its price for consent to the restoration of the Hapsburgs.

But the enthronement of the Hapsburgs in Hungary would put Hun-

garian bayonets at the service of monarchist counter-revolution in the neighboring Roubles, and threaten all the States bordering on Hungary with the peril of a Hungarian war of revenge and restoration.

In view of the danger to the peace and freedom of nations it is the duty of the workers and socialists of all countries to concentrate all forces against Italian fascism and its vassals, against reaction in Hungary, in Roumania and in Bulgaria.

Fight Fascism to Finish

Denounce in all countries the crimes of Italian fascism!

Facism is the policy of the imperialist governments, which in the interest of their selfish schemes, now in Arabia, now in Abyssinia, to secure the support of the Italian government for their imperialist policy in China, are betraying democracy in fascism, are shedding blood in the blood of the Italian working-class, and devising fresh bloodshed throughout the whole of South-Eastern Europe.

Insist in all countries that the governments, in conformity with the obligations assumed by Hungary in 1921, shall not permit the restoration of the Hapsburgs!

Insist that the Governments based on democracy shall urge the League of Nations to act against the new dangers of war!

Facism is spreading through Europe like a contagious disease. The events in Lithuania demonstrate the danger. The perils for the young States lying between Germany and Russia are yet further increased by the recent breakdown of the Polish-German negotiations for a demarcation agreement. In this region of Europe also perils to peace and freedom threaten against the White Terror in Lithuania. Unite your voices to those of German Socialism and of Polish Socialism for the restoration of peaceful economic and political relations between Germany and Poland!

The Two Monsters

Imperialism and facism, closely linked, are threatening everywhere the peace of the world. The fight for freedom is everywhere bound up with the fight for peace. As the pioneer of humanity, the working-class must secure freedom for the peoples, and peace for humanity.



# How to Make Arbitration A Real Peace Force

## Editor's Note

The government of Sweden has just bound itself to arbitrate every dispute that might arise between Sweden and Belgium, not even excluding "vital interest" and "national honor." The news reports of February 20 declare that the treaty is in a sense of consummation of the royal Swedish matrimonial alliance between Princess Astrid and Crown Prince Leopold of last fall. However, the fact that the Swedish Socialists are represented by 101 members out of a total of 230, or 45 percent of the total membership in the lower house, and the Belgian Socialists by 79 out of a total of 196 members, or over 42 percent, and the further fact that both Socialists groups have been conducting a vigorous campaign for arbitration and for disarmament since the World War are far more responsible for this treaty than the accidental fact of the royal marriage.

A similar treaty is now before the Norwegian Parliament and arbitra-

tion treaties between Sweden and Denmark and Sweden and Finland have recently been ratified. (Denmark, it is said, has 53 Socialists in the lower house out of 119 and the Socialist government while in office last year cut the expenditure for military purposes from 50,000,000 to 17,000,000 Kroner), while Finland has also a large Socialist following.

William Floyd, the indefatigable editor of The Arbitrator, has begun an Arbitration Crusade in this country. In the following article he indicates something of the goal of this Crusade. Will the United States continue to threaten with every country with whom it has an economic conflict, or will it follow the arbitration path and begin to settle international disputes in a civilized fashion? That remains for the voters of the country to decide.

—H. W. L.

By William Floyd

Arbitration is old stuff. So is war. But as men found old bottles suitable

for bottling old wine, so peace-makers will find an old device suitable for bottling war.

There is arbitration and arbitration; just as there are labor unions and labor unions. Arbitration as embodied in old treaties heretofore made by the United States is like a Company union. It has a pleasing sound; it gives the impression of furnishing the means of settling disputes, but in reality it is an old wine in new bottles. The kind of arbitration specified in the Root treaties is like the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company union. It suits the bosses to arbitrate; they will arbitrate, but if there is anything of vital interest at stake, they will go to war.

**Inadequacy of the Bryan Treaties**

The Bryan treaties are a bit better, but Bryan was only a fundamentalist when the supernatural was involved. He did not go to the bottom of the international question. He negotiated over twenty treaties with other nations providing for submission of disputes to a Conciliatory Commission and binding each coun-

try to keep the peace until the decision of the Commission was handed down. Then they could fight to their pocket's content, for there was no agreement to abide by the decision of the Commission. War remained a perfectly legal method of seizing what a Government wanted.

**Arbitration Successful When Tried**

Arbitration has been a success when tried. Up to 1914 the United States submitted sixty-eight international controversies to arbitral procedure. We were awarded the decision in the Alabama claims of 1873 and against Mexico in 1902, but lost the verdict in the Norwegian shipping case of 1923. In every instance of arbitration between nations the losing country has settled the award as a debt of honor.

The difficulty has been that whenever a Government wanted to fight, it was perfectly free to do so. That being the case, war has been constantly imminent and all nations have prepared for the next explosion. Old

war kept bursting out of the new bottle of arbitration because no one had fastened the neck securely. There was a string attached to each treaty for arbitration but the string was not drawn tight enough. The old stuff leaked out.

At the present time there is not a single treaty binding this country to arbitrate disputes that may arise. We are bound to arbitrate any old thing of no consequence whatever, but when a new, lively issue arises, like the sacred honor of Secretary Kellogg or the sacred purse of Edward Doheny, it is worth a jail sentence to suggest arbitration.

There is, however, a simple way to change the whole psychology of nations regarding war. The sentiment of the people is firmly opposed to fighting in the trenches. There is no personal glory in modern warfare and the tombstones erected to the private soldier are not worth dying for. This sentiment should be embodied into law, for unless the statute is clear, diplomats and financiers will put the next war over on

the people as they did the last war to make the world safe for investments. There must be a substitute available for vindicating national honor. Of course, readers of the American Appeal know that there is mighty little national honor, but readers of Republican and Democratic papers still believe in the myth and are aroused to spiritual excesses by the sight of the flag and the sound of the Star Spangled Banner (mythically supposed to be our national anthem in spite of the repeated refusal of Congress so to designate it).

**Making War Illegal**

War must be made illegal. Then the pacifist will have shifted the burden of proof to the militarist. War can be made illegal by having international law revised—a perfectly simple solution but almost impossible through the League of Nations which is controlled by the war-makers. War can be made illegal also by the negotiation of treaties between two nations at a time binding both parties never to fight each other under any circumstances.

Suppose the United States should negotiate treaties with Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Mexico, and a few other countries, requiring arbitration by the Hague Court or some Commission? Let the people of each country ratify these treaties every ten years, showing that they mean to abide by the agreement never to fight for any reason—not for glory, for country or for cash! Would not disarmament conferences become unnecessary? Would not training camps be abandoned? Would not investors recognize the risk of foreign commissions? Would we not have taken a practical step toward universal peace?

During the past year various peace-loving organizations have reached the same conclusion—that arbitration provided the best substitute for war. To crystallize these sentiments the American Arbitration Crusade has been launched at 114 East 31st Street, New York City, and has offered \$500 in prizes to the best editorials, articles, slogans, cartoons or sermons on arbitration.

## Coolidge Veto of Haugen Bill Is Blow at Farmer-Capitalist Union

As owners of property and often employers of labor as well as real workers and producers themselves, the bulk of American farmers have in the past thrown their political weight on the side of the owning and employing class in America and against the working class, so far as the working class has expressed its interests politically. North of the former Mason and Dixon line the bulk of American farmers have expressed this capitalist preference by staunchly supporting the Republican Party and south of this line by loyally supporting the Democratic Party. Independent of farmers, WHICH HAVE ALWAYS GRAVITATED TOWARD LABOR, have unfortunately been of short duration. In other words, whenever the American farmer has tried to be himself he has discovered that he is mainly a wealthy capitalist who labor is a political ally with labor; whenever he has unthinkingly accepted the political parties created and maintained by the capitalist interests he has merged his interests as far as he could with the financial and industrial owners of the country.

Never before in the history of the United States has the political marriage of the farmers to the capitalists received such a severe jolt as it received when President Coolidge vetoed the McNary-Haugen bill.

The severity of the jolt arises from the nature of the agricultural crisis, the long drawn out struggle which finally culminated in the passage of this bill by both houses, the nature of the line-up in that struggle, and the real meaning of the president's veto.

The farmers have faced ruinous conditions ever since their deliberate deflation by the financial interests following the war, which has caused the loss of many billions in depreciated farm values, an appalling increase of farm indebtedness, an increase of tenancy, a reduction of the net average income of the farmer to less than \$400 a year and widespread bankruptcy and the uprooting of the farmers by hundreds of thousands from the soil.

AT A TIME WHEN INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL PRICES WERE DOUBLED FARM VALUES WERE HALVED!

What was actually happening was the most stupendous gutting and looting of a class of producers in history by a class of financial and industrial parasites. These conditions created these parasites by virtue of their industrial and political control of the country.

The farmers accurately saw that the immediate cause of their poverty and ruin was the fact that THEY SOLD A LITTLE FOR WHAT THEY SOLD AND PAID TOO MUCH FOR WHAT THEY BOUGHT.

What most of them did not see clearly was that THE CAUSE OF THIS lay in the fact that THE FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL OWNERS OF AMERICA CONTROLLED BOTH ENDS OF THE BUYING AND SELLING GAME.

The farmers started out to put through national legislation that would EVEN UP agricultural prices with industrial prices.

They were not in discovering that the real reason why there was such a discrepancy between agricultural and industrial prices was CAPITALIST LEGISLATION.

They should have seen farther and understood that this legislation was obtained through capitalist control of both old political parties, but instead, they sought LEGISLATION THAT WOULD IMPROVE AGRICULTURAL PRICES THROUGH THE SAME POLITICAL PARTIES THAT HAD DECREASED AGRICULTURAL PRICES.

dent has ever branded himself before. The denial of an emergency measure for the farmers under their present condition in lieu of the fact that there is no prospect now for many months of any relief legislation whatever, is inexcusable.

President Coolidge wastes many thousands of words explaining his veto. An indefensible act always attempts to hide its chagrin under a cloud of words. He says that the measure is economically unsound, it is a price-fixing measure; it is unconstitutional; it is class legislation; it is unfair to the worker and consumer.

THESE CHARGES ACCURATELY DESCRIBE EVERY PIECE OF CAPITALIST LEGISLATION THAT HAS BEEN PASSED SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THIS GOVERNMENT.

The man who made them had just got through signing the McNary-Haugen bill which lays the foundation for an international money trust. He had just signed the radio bill which establishes vested rights—private property—in the air. He was still the leader in the bitter fight to turn the people's property at Muscle Shoals over to the capitalist interests. He had just completed, as the responsible head, the bartering away of the people's ships for a song to the shipping combine. He was the man more than any other responsible for the passage of the bill untying the rich of America. He is the man more responsible than any other for the recent intervention in Nicaragua and the crushing of an independent people, and now he dangles over the heads of American manhood the Mexican war peril in the interest of a few multimillionaire investors trying to monopolize the resources of another country. Under his administration there has been more monopolies formed in defiance of the anti-trust law, and more governmental protection and favor shown to the financial, industrial and political looters of America than under any other administration in our history.

After he had thus favored the bloated plutocracy of America with every privilege and piece of special legislation it had desired, President Coolidge refused to sign an extreme emergency measure to carry ruined agriculture over the worst crisis in its history, on the ground that it might favor a special class!

The president has delivered this blow at a time when the farmers were more united nationally, more conscious of their situation and their wrongs than ever before. Therefore, there are greater political possibilities in the present situation than there has been before.

The capitalist politicians realize the amount of dynamite there is in the present situation and have mapped out the wisest course they could follow under the circumstances. Their plan is the usual one—to prepare for a run-off of farmer indignation in the form of insurgency WITHIN the Republican and Democratic parties.

To this end the most reactionary newspapers in the United States, papers purely representative of Big Business that have fought the farmer tooth and nail in the past, especially papers centering in Chicago and the region tributary to it, are boosting with all their might the candidacy of Lowden to succeed Coolidge.

Lowden is a loyal and trustworthy representative of the capitalist interests. He is a banker and millionaire, son-in-law of George M. Pullman of the rich and powerful Pullman car interests. He has interests in the Pullman company. As war governor of Illinois he branded himself to be a cruel, bitter, suppressive, reactionary and enemy of progressive opinion. The fact that newspapers like the Chicago Tribune are boosting his candidacy is proof enough that capitalist interests are still sure of him.

Lowden as president will not back any measure that will in any way impair the power and profits of his class, AND NO ONE CAN DO THE FARMERS ANY GOOD UNLESS THEY TRANSFER POWER AND INCOME FROM THE CAPITALISTS TO THE FARMERS. THEREFORE, THE MEDIUM OF PRICES, Lowden will be more dangerous to the farmers' cause than Coolidge because he will be more subtle and less clumsy than Coolidge. He will make the farmers believe he is doing something for them when, as a matter of fact, their position and condition will remain essentially unchanged.

Will the farmers swallow the Lowden bait, remain in the Republican party and in their present condition, or will they at last break politically with the financial and industrial owners of America and the looters of the farmers?

The Socialists can determine this question largely by their activities during the next year.

THE FARMERS ARE BANDED TO-

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## Farm States Hit By Bank Failures

The Federal Council of Churches announces, on the authority of the Wall Street Journal, that 850 banks, or about 4 per cent of the total, failed in this year in 1925. It is significant that the Federal Reserve district of New York, Boston and Philadelphia have practically no failures, while 7 per cent of the banking institutions in the agricultural sections went to the wall.

**Tax Taft Steel**

The \$10,000 annuity bequeathed to Chief Justice Taft of the United States Supreme Court exposed by the late Eugene V. Debs in a former issue of the American Appeal, is at last to be taxed in the future, according to a decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeal this week at Philadelphia. Among other worthy politicians who are getting a \$10,000 annuity from Steel trust stock bequeathed by Carnegie is David Lloyd George, who raised a large fund for the maintenance of the British Labor Party through the sale of titles while he was premier and now controls what is left of the Liberal Party through his control of this fund.

**Ku Klux Klan Slipping**

The Ku Klux Klan, which was ousted from Kansas several years ago by state laws, and appealed to the United States Supreme Court from these laws has been handed a decision unholding the right of a state to exclude the Klan if it seeks to follow this decision, North Carolina has ousted the Klan by the passage of a law similar to the one in Kansas.

**10,537 Deaths In Industry Last Year**

The latest statistics of industrial accidents on a national scale have been brought together as far as possible by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. As reported by the States, there were 10,537 fatal accidents and 1,687,257 non-fatal accidents in 1925, as compared with 11,474 fatal and 1,696,230 non-fatal accidents in 1924, and 11,062 fatal and 1,626,337 non-fatal accidents in 1920.

**U. S. Labor Banks Own \$127,000,000**

Total resources of America's 34 labor banks amounted to about \$127,000,000 at the end of 1925, representing an increase of several millions over 1925. The discontinuation of two banks during 1926 and the selling of one of the largest were more than compensated for by the rapid growth of the continuing banks and the opening of two new labor banks. Total deposits increased somewhat to more than \$109,000,000, and surplus and undivided profits to about \$3,800,000, while capitalization decreased slightly to about \$9,000,000, due to the sale of one of the banks.

**Over 4 Million Trade Unionists in America**

WASHINGTON—Trade unions in the United States, numbering 156 organizations, now have a membership of 4,443,523, according to statistics compiled by the bureau of labor statistics, department of labor.

The total membership of the international organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, as shown in the bureau's reports, is 3,333,597. This together with 50,400 additional indirectly affiliated local unions, gives the Federation a total membership of 3,383,997. Membership of organizations outside the Federation, including the Industrial Workers of the World, is 1,059,526.

The membership of the I. W. W. is given at 30,000.

The largest trade union organization has the following membership: United Mine Workers, 500,000; the "Big Four" railway brotherhoods, 425,000; the 18 building trades, 1,327,825.

The largest organization outside of the American Federation of Labor is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with a membership of 150,000.

Should the federal judges receive on increase in pay, wonder if the \$10,000 a year Chief Justice Taft gets from the steel trust will be counted on his salary.

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## Upton Sinclair Tells of His War Disillusionment

Editor's Note

The most subtle and dangerous thing in the present world crisis is war propaganda. In the following article Upton Sinclair tells the Appeal readers how for a time he was caught by Allied propaganda and how he escaped. His story will help many.

By Upton Sinclair

Floyd Dell has sat in the prisoner's dock, facing twenty years; and his wife has been raided and indicted—I was around when it happened. I knew that these were the most intense experiences in their lives, and for years I have been begging Floyd to put them into a novel.

Now he has taken his fate in hand and dared to write a novel about the pacifists and the war—"An Old Man's Folly." In it Floyd has had the quaint idea of seeing the war through the eyes of an old gentle-

man who has missed all his own life opportunities through being too much like the young Floyd Dell and the early H. G. Wells—and who in his old age lives over again his youthful dreams in the persons of young pacifists being raided by the police.

Floyd Dell has made me one of the characters. On page 131 I appear under the name of Sanford Whitley and express some of my notorious opinions. From page 229 to 272 I appear and deliver my notorious opinions in support of the war for democracy—only in some mysterious way my name has got changed to Sanford Peyton.

Regarding this representation of my opinions of the war, I can have no kick, because Floyd has taken my own words from various sources. I can only tell him that reading them over now makes me very unhappy and I find myself with a continual impulse to get into jail with the rest of his characters! I have had almost

ten years to think the thing over, and what I have to report is that at the beginning of 1917 I had known what I know today, I would have opposed the war and gone to jail with the pacifist radicals.

What Floyd says by the personality of Sanford Whitley-Peyton is in substance this: How is it possible for a radical writer, a "veteran" who was both intelligent and sincere, to swallow the war propaganda of the Allies? I search my memory, and answer as follows:

I thought I knew the ignorance and stupidity of bourgeois statesmen, but there were depths beneath depths which I was unable to imagine. In the early spring of 1917, Woodrow Wilson was making the American people promise as to the just and wise peace that he was going to bring out of the world war. He was carrying on negotiations with the allied governments, and I, of course, had no access to his thoughts on the offers, and made the mistake of assuming that he must know at least a little of what he was doing, and would carry out at least a few of his promises.

Arthur Balfour came over here, and was shut up in secret conference with Wilson. I was not invited, but I assumed that Wilson was making some declarations and getting some pledges. A year or two later, when I realized the ghastly fact that he had done nothing and learned nothing, I wrote in some article, "How did Balfour do it?" I can't be that he treated Woodrow Wilson as a social equal? My wife wouldn't let me publish that, she said, "You can't say such a thing about the President of the United States!" But now the time has come to say it. That is the way the British rulers closed their eyes; they send their peerless gentlemen to inferior countries, and the ineffable ones treat the inferior statesmen as social equals—protest to kiss her hand; and so in due course there will be a Roumanian revolution.

On Feb. 2nd, 1917, I sent Wilson a telegram urging that America's entry into the war should be conditional upon the agreement by the Allies that all territories taken from Central Powers should be neutrally placed under international guarantee. That demand on his part would have made it unnecessary for us to enter the war; the allied governments would have refused the demand, but the allied peoples would have broken them down, and the people of Germany would have forced their government to negotiate. By I was making that proposal, a combination of imbecile and hypocrite, who went before the United States Senate and declared that he had not known about the secret treaties until he went to Paris early in 1919. And these treaties had been exposed by the Bolsheviks, and published in the "New York Evening Post," and there read by every public man and student who really cared about the great world problem. I was violent language about Woodrow Wilson, because I cannot forgive him; it is not merely that he made a fool of himself, but he made one of millions of us. Well, I live my normal life; there will be another world war, and I will have another chance. Next time, I shall take my stand along with the rest of Floyd's rebels, all of whom are good friends of mine, and here in the city which Floyd mysteriously calls "San Angelo." In a novel I am writing I am calling it "Angel City," and between the two you may be able to guess its identity.

The budget asked of congress totals more than four billion dollars, more than half of which is for the army and navy, relief of war veterans and interest on public debt. But we must make a few rich and we must have them.

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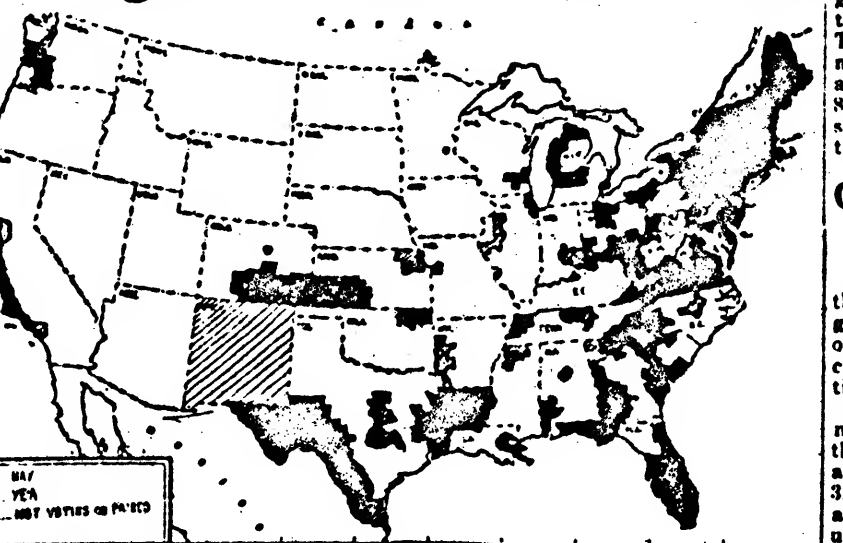
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## Industrialist Vote Solid Against Farm Relief Bill



This map shows how the representatives of congressional districts voted on the McNary-Haugen bill.

Almost without exception, the industrial sections—sections bodily owned and controlled by the financial and industrial magnates—voted against the bill. These sections are in black on the map.

On the other hand, in the overwhelming majority of districts where the farmers predominate the congressmen voted for the bill.

This map shows the biggest national line-up of the agricultural elements behind a farm relief measure. The part of the map in white shows how much of the country President Coolidge flouted and disappointed after it had gotten its measure through both houses.

This is the first time there has been an agricultural line-up that has not represented merely a section.

The question is: WILL THE FARMERS BE BANDED TO-

## Farmer Drift to Socialism Begins

VIENNA—For the first time since the Republic was established, Austrian peasants to the number of 10,660 have elected Socialist representatives to the government chamber of peasants. Hitherto the peasants have elected reactionary and clerical spokesmen. The leftward tendency is credited to Socialist proposals of land reform, and to the fact that peasants from regions of large private estates have been forced to work in the industrial towns, and have there learned the program of organized labor.

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